The COMMONWEAL

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The Moral

FOR the past three weeks THE COMMONWEAL has been harping on the question of Russia's territorial "ambitions" along her western frontier. We are aware that to discuss it further is to risk displeasing high personages. The matter is peculiarly delicate and embarrassing. Yet it is of universal application. Russia and her claims are but a shadow of what is to come. Belgium and Norway and Ireland and Greece, Java, China, India—all countries are involved. For here is a nasty contradiction which it would be much more polite to forget—"let's cross that bridge when we come to it." The contradiction is this: we have, all of us, two declared war aims inevitably in conflict. (1) We wish to win a peace which will not merely serve as an armistice between two wars, but which will continue with as much permanence as any human thing can possess. (2) We want people to be free; by this most of us mean that each man's nation must be a nation, fully free to act as a nation.

The Russians, being arrant realists, prefer peace to the independence of the fragmented border states. We Americans, being ever inclined toward idealism, refuse to admit that these peoples' complete freedom and independence threaten the peace for which we also hope. Stalin and his lieutenants have seen what a mess the democracies could make out of collective security; they are from Missouri, and will have to be shown next time. We conveniently forget that small countries have not themselves proved incapable of seeking territorial aggrandizement, are themselves not disinterested in "strategic frontiers." More than anything else, this tension threatens the peace which will follow a United Nations victory.

It has long been obvious that the only possible solution to the problem is either the imperial solution—which means conquest and no freedom whatever—or the solution of federation—which means foregoing many national liberties in order to build a reasonable internationalism.

In September, 1939, and for some months thereafter, "federation" was the popular word, heard everywhere as offering the answer to that absolute nationalism which as much as anything produced this war. Then, when people began to reflect on the price which would have to be paid to achieve strong and genuine federations, the word quietly began to drop out of sight. Today it is almost forgotten.

It is significant that in the samples of abuse and objection from Lithuanians, Poles, Esthonians which greeted our editorials of the last three weeks, the attitude universally manifested showed no willingness to consider federation as a solution. The attitude was, and generally seems to be, give us liberty or give us death. Our argument has been: while Russian claims are on the carpet, let us bargain, let us ask for a solution approaching regional federation (we purposely described but did not name the thing in our first discussion of the subject) rather than yield all. Our correspondents refused to see what we were saying; in substance they refuse even to consider a partial renunciation of sovereignty in the interests of something broader than their own historical "destiny." If they cannot be absolutely, irresponsibly, free and independent, they would rather be slaves. Historically, what has happened? By an equivocation, the whole question has been left hanging. Not an official word in the Anglo-Russian treaty suggesting federation, and no explicit or implicit refusal of Russia's claims. Yet American representatives of the Baltic States could celebrate their "victory" with cocktail parties!

All this may seem a harsh judgment; one can hope that it is mistaken. But our own experiment in suggesting that Russia should be asked to be satisfied with some control of her neighbors' military and diplomatic policy, rather than swallow them, or pieces of them, produced not one word of acquiescence. The only conclusion it is possible to draw is that if federation is to be tried as a means to compromise the demands of peace with those of freedom—and we must always remember that freedom carries with it power and that power can destroy peace—then a certain amount of com-

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pulsion will have to be used to achieve that federation.

It seems likely that the immediate future of the human race depends upon whether statesmen in the United Nations are tough enough to be willing to recognize how essential is the federal idea to any true achievement of our war aims, and risk unpopularity by acting on that recognition. If they are not, it will tragically take other wars to teach men the bitter truth that you cannot have utter national freedom and lasting peace in the same bargain.

Farm Bloc Sabotage

ONE of the most disturbing aspects of the actual workings of the American governmental system is the influence of Washington lobbyists for powerful private interests. Some of the worst features of the high tariff acts that hastened the great depression and its bloody aftermath can be traced directly to effective lobbying in Washington. The current tactics of certain American Farm Bureau leaders have their precedents. For holding out for full parity prices for government-owned and stored corn and wheat tends to batten the coffers of certain agricultural enterprises (for the most part large commercial interests rather than individual farmers) at the expense of the rest of the country, not to mention the needs of our hard-pressed Allies.

The situation is plain enough. Grain surpluses from other years are so huge that government contracts for new bins with a capacity of an additional 100,000,000 bushels will not prove nearly adequate; farmers are urged to build facilities of their own for 1942 corn and wheat. The glut of the market and the whole situation are well indicated by the advice of one midwestern farm journal to its readers that "unless they get their building done before the rush of harvesting, they are likely to see their grain out under the open sky where it will not be eligible for a loan."

With a two-years' supply of wheat and vast quantities of corn in storage, it is reported that feed grain production is not keeping pace with the large livestock increase so important to the "Food for Freedom" program. Moreover there are thousands of small-farm operators in the South and elsewhere who are underemployed—in many cases they and their families are undernourished—and the procuring of feed would enable them to produce vast new quantities of meat and poultry and dairy products for the domestic market and for our Allies overseas. All this at a time when meat is at a premium in the United States and Canada and there is a serious shortage of fats and oils.

To make up for the lack of corn, oats and barley needed for fodder, the President has asked that government-owned wheat be sold for feed at 85 percent of parity. In response to this request it is reported that the cotton interests have insisted that cotton must now be defined as a war crop entitled to incentive payments (despite another huge crop surplus still in storage). The basis for this claim is cottonseed oil, although peanuts and soy beans will produce more oil per acre. Even if this concession be made to cotton interests it is not at all certain that the Congressional farm bloc will accede to the President's wishes.

There is no reason to believe that the American farmer is any less patriotic than the city worker. He has, in fact, for years been forced to pay proportionately more than his share for agricultural implements and other urban industrial products he has purchased. His views are not truly represented by the American Farm Bureau Federation bloc. A recent letter to the President supporting his fodder plan and asking for more rehabilitation of the Farm Security Administration type included not only William Green and Philip Murray but also James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union; Murray Lincoln, executive secretary of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation; Monsignor Ligutti, executive secretary of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference; Benson Y. Landis of the Federal Council of Churches. The plea went on to declare that "the estimated increase in food production by these low-income farmers would be enough to supply an army of 2,400,000 men. . . ." This contest with the farm bloc is a real test of our American democracy.

Wong Kim Ark

A CURIOUS STORY comes from the United States Senate Committee on Immigration. No one would expect this story to be a happy one, since for many years now almost everything related to our immigration policy has tended toward restriction of the movement which built our country and has shown ever increasing signs of discrimination. Our laws have adopted the unverifiable myth of Nordic superiority, they have admitted an irrevocable cleavage between the Orientals and ourselves—and thus we became racists before the letter. Since the beginning of the war there has been repeated evidence of further discrimination on political grounds. All these moves toward making immigration difficult have been based on the fact that once admitted, most immigrants could become citizens, all could give birth to citizens, and that the dignity, the rights of citizenship constituted an inestimable privilege. A privilege which could not be curtailed except for proven crime and which made its possessor a true American.

It is now this fundamental right of citizenship which is menaced. Not too directly, not frankly, for that would shock people, but in a devious and

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technical manner, and of course with the excuse of military necessity. But the aim is clear. In spite of all our precautions we have let people into the country and these people have bred citizens. We must correct our mistake and the only way to do this is to deprive their children of citizenship. So the Senate Committee on Immigration is getting to work. Senator Stewart of Tennessee is its chairman. Urged on by the support of such organizations as the American Coalition and the American Legion, and with the assistance of its members, Senators Herring, Maybank, Holman, Johnson, and what proves to be their considerable erudition, the Committee has rediscovered Chief Justice Fuller's dissenting opinion in the case of Wong Kim Ark (1898). For reasons which it would be tedious to enumerate he found himself faced with the necessity of proving his right to citizenship, under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, which states that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States . . ." The Supreme Court found Mr. Wong to be an American, but Chief Justice Fuller found that the phrase "subject to the jurisdiction" implied the necessity of not being subject to the jurisdiction of any foreign power. Since the Celestial Emperor (like the present, Reich) considered that the children of his subjects, no matter where they might be born, remained his subjects, the Chief Justice thought it evident that Mr. Wong suffered from what might be called an innate impediment.

When the Senate Committee rediscovered this dissent, it saw light ahead. After all, a dissenting opinion might well eventually serve as basis for a majority opinion, particularly in a moment of strong emotion and carefully incited xenophobia. The Committee therefore now endorses a bill introduced by its own chairman: "The number of Japanese who were born in the United States is about 100,000. In Hawaii there are about an equal number. The unrestrained presence within this country of persons of that race, whether or not born in the United States, constitutes, at this time, a serious menace to the war efforts of the United States. . . . Your Committee believes that the arguments presented by Mr. Chief Justice Fuller are unanswerable and hopes that in some manner the enactment by the Congress of S 2293 may bring about a redetermination of the status of Japanese born in the United States." In the Bill it is proposed that the Secretary of War—for the duration of the present conflict between the United States and Japan—"is authorized and directed to take into custody and restrain . . . any and all Japanese persons residing in or found in the United States, regardless of whether or not said Japanese were born in the United States."

When and if this Bill is passed, there will doubtless be test cases for the Supreme Court to decide. The Immigration Committee hopes that the Supreme Court will dig up Mr. Chief Justice Fuller and yield to his posthumous eloquence. Substitute the word German, perhaps even the word Italian, the word Hungarian, the word Rumanian, the world Bulgarian, for that single word "Japanese" in the Bill, and it becomes hideously apparent that the citizenship lawfully possessed and deeply cherished by innumerable good Americans of foreign descent is threatened. The pride and confidence every American has in his citizenship is humiliated by the Committee's action. We hope that this action will run up against the wall of our Constitution and be rebuked.

West Coast Paper

IT IS not often that we feel justified in calling attention to the excellence of a new periodical. Yet *Social Action,* published at 338 16 Ave., Seattle, has been doing so lively and interesting a job that we think we should bring it to our readers' notice. In format it is humble and well put together. It consists of four pages monthly, and is printed in newspaper style; it "will be mailed without charge to all who send in their names and addresses. However, those who think *Social Action* is on the right track and would like to see it continue, may make contributions to the publishing fund. If and when the paper is larger and on a more substantial basis financially, yearly subscriptions may be solicited." Surely this financial program is calculated to please the subscriber. So far six monthly numbers of this publication have appeared, starting with January of the present year. Each has demonstrated that the editors are outspoken and courageous; they describe their organ as "a voice of the new Christian social order—an independent publication in the interests of lay action groups in the Pacific Northwest." Among their pet antipathies have been: James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution," the Technocrats, Daniel J. Tobin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Seattle department stores. Needless to say no reader will agree with everything so emphatic a paper says, but it is a joy to find people speaking their minds.

N.B.

FOR YEARS Father Gillis has contributed to the Catholic diocesan press one of the best of its syndicated columns, under the title, "Sursum Corda or What's Right with the World?" In its issue of June 13, the Brooklyn *Tablet* ran this column with a slight emendation in the heading: "Sursum Corda or What's Wrong with the World?" Is there some subtle explanation for this lapse of the linotype?

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Rhetoric and War

A man is where he is
and not anywhere else.

By C. G. Paulding

I HAVE been taking the dead wood off this tree and I do not know what kind of a tree it is which stands on no property of mine. It is in blossom and there are many small dead branches and twigs and it is not because I think I know that it will give strength to the tree if I break off these dry twigs, these dead branches, that I trace them back through the young leaves and break them where they join the living wood. I am attending to this tree because sometime, somewhere, parents of mine stripped trees and plants of what they found to be edible and when the trees were stripped bare they went on farther, but later, sometime, somewhere, when they got out of their bearskins and prehistory, they learned about fruit trees and shade trees, quince, apple, cherry, oak and elm; they stayed close to these trees through the four seasons and they knew that they must prune them and when to prune them. It is because none of us have entirely forgotten many things that we never knew that I have been breaking off twigs this weekend although perhaps they are the wrong twigs and this the wrong season.

With what expected artifice shall I turn from this tranquil scene to the war? Abruptly? This weekend in Lybia Tobruk fell . . . With modulations? Above this tree, above these children fishing for blowfish from a rock in the Sound a fighter plane in training dives . . . Shall I use the statistical manner? Trees make wood pulp; the *Daily News* uses tons of wood pulp to tell us that there will be no immigration after the war, no lowering of our standards to meet Mr. Wallace's pretty and generous dream of world justice . . .

All over Long Island, all over the countryside, the young summer crops mature. Everywhere in America save in the desert, save in the mountains. Here at the roadside market are the young carrots, the tender greens, lettuce, cabbage and beets, scallions and tomatoes, young green peas, potatoes, berries. In the village store small boys dangle their legs on packing boxes and eat ice cream. . . . "We are precisely in the condition of the Belgians in 1917, awaiting 1918. All that we have to do is to hold out. We shall hold out. The health of all the family is good. Of course we are very thin but the children, who eat as much as we do, as much as we can find to divide, do not yet appear to suffer and for us the whole process is so gradual that the body seems to adapt itself. We think of food a great deal, we have to do that in order not to miss any way of finding it for the children. We live therefore in the immediate and in the eternal. What is curious though, is that whenever anyone falls in the street, just through clumsiness, through fatigue, not from any height at all, he at once breaks an arm, a leg, and often such a fall is fatal. There must be something wrong now with our bones." I quote a letter from France. I do not get mail from Poland, from Greece . . .

* * *

Transition from peace to war—on paper—is the simplest of tricks because you can make any arbitrary transition or do without one entirely. You contrast a fact of peace with a fact of war and the shock will take the reader's mind from peace to war. Then you point the moral. What moral? Any moral you choose. Not so long ago you would say something about the Middle West, as I have said something about a tree and vegetables and peaceful Long Island, and then you would say something about Poland and the moral in those days would be right there, pat, to fit your politics: "Wake up America" or "Stay out America." And now the moral is we are all in the same boat and that boat must not sink. *Fluctuat nec mergitur,* as they said in Paris about a vessel that sank. There are no limits to the subsidiary variations of the moral to be drawn. The "Minute Man" or "Save Rubber" or "The country needs Your Health to win the war: Take a Vacation" or "Three quarters of all Americans have defective eyesight: Attend to your Vision for Victory."

I have nothing against this technique. I have used it repeatedly in the past two years to urge our solidarity with the British, with the French, with all the peoples who have been forced by Germany into war from peace and to give all the support I could to the President facing what I knew to be the inevitable. And any method such as this of dramatic contrast which is so ageless and habitual must be a natural and human method of expression and exhortation. But it is no more than that. It serves only on the plane of reflection and emotion; it does not carry a man from one place to another; he remains where he is.

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It is natural to place bishops and kings and young girls in the *Totentanz* on the wall in Basel, natural and wise to have the specter at the feast, the skeleton in the closet, the *memento mori* at the cradle. It is a wise mendicant in Spain who calls the rich man brother. But though we shall die we are not dead, though we may become rich we still are poor, though we are brothers we still are separated. These phrases, these pictures, these admonitory contrasts do no more than exhort us to act and to think in a certain manner for the reason that all is uncertain in life and that death is close to life. They do not precipitate the changes, they do not bind the opposites save only in our reflecting mind. They do not take us into death.

Nor does rhetoric nor art nor exhortation take us very far into war. It is not the measure of our enthusiasm, nor even the degree of our understanding and acceptance, nor even our resolve that can take us into the war when we stand outside the war. We enter the war only just so far as immediately and practically the war touches our lives. I am talking about the real war. The real war which takes a man or leaves a man. Emotional writing is not in the war. The women who for a day took off their uniforms, forsook the joy of saluting each other and spied on the gas station attendants were not in the war—they were preparing, mildly, for red-baiting after the war. A piece of paper reaches a man and quietly he attends to his affairs and then he is a soldier. The American soldier is in the war. The parents of that soldier are in the war, for by day, and when they wake at night, they are inseparable from their son and share his condition. Immediately. The men on battleships, in submarines, in the merchant marine, in the air and all those at home to whom they are immediately and inescapably dear are in the war.

But the men who speak at meetings—who organize the emotions of others—the editorial writers, the men at the radio are not in the war. The American citizens of Japanese descent in forced encampment are in the war. But no one who is in an office, nor any farmer, nor any factory worker, nor any miner, no matter how hard he works, no matter how essential his work may be in the pursuit of the war, is in the war. No taxation, no financial strain that the war may impose upon us brings us in the war since any part of this strain and taxation might be ours to share under certain conceivable revolutionary circumstances. The civilian population of a country is in the war when it is driven from its homes or when it rises to defend its homes, when it is face to face with famine and violence, when it is bombed.

When the New York train comes in with the papers, the men of this Long Island village and the boys with their baseball caps discuss the war and the Dodgers in Howell's store. They are as patriotic Americans as any in the country and as patriotic citizens as any in the world. When they have talked about the news the boys go out to help in the fields; in the afternoon they play baseball; the men go to work in the fields and some of them go to work in defense industries. They build ships, they grow potatoes, they raise ducks, they milk cows. They are not in the war.

What I want, simply, is to make sure that no one in our country anywhere will ever say that phrase "they are not in the war" and give an ugly turn to it. The point of this war is to keep people out of it. The men in this village, the men in the offices, factories, farms, cities, the men of the West and the Mid West, the Southerners and the Yankees, all of us who are not in the war, are willing to suffer anything that is required of us, pay anything we have to, do without anything we have to. All we ask is that the proof of our willingness be not made degrading. All that we ask is that we be not asked to speak out of rôle, that we be not miscast as warriors—that we be not embarrassed.

If it came about that America were like Russia and the Germans were driving hard across our land against our cities, we would try to give a good account of ourselves. If it came about that New York were bombed like London we would try to stand it as the British did. All we ask is that it be recognized that we have delegated—to our own flesh and blood—the task of meeting the dangers that exist now, at present, and that we cannot decently pretend to be in danger now and in war, now, ourselves. We cannot sing marching songs when we are not marching. We insist on maintaining a certain appropriate and modest demeanor. We insist on attending to our jobs. For ours is not a vulgar nation.

* * *

This confusion as to who is in the war and who is not and this refusal to admit that you cannot talk yourself, or be talked, into the emotion and tension felt by those who are in danger—I am not broken and disheartened in Tobruk this morning—leads to a condition in which all the interacting planes of democratic life are disarrayed. The whole well ordered plan of responsibilities becomes confused. It is in this confusion that a certain appeal to excitement and even to hatred is made and this appeal I shall not describe for it is recognizable to every reader. It has never come from the President; it has never come from Mr. Wallace; Mr. MacLeish has disavowed it; Mr. Elmer Davis, judging from past performance, will never condescend to it. It seems to be the work of volunteers. It is of course based on the thesis that we are all in the war. We are summoned to have noble emotions that are beyond

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our reach, evil emotions that are most unnatural to us. We are urged to a vain mimicry of heroism and tension natural, admirable and real among those populations which are bombed and invaded. On the plea that this is a total war we are urged to pretend that we are—each one of us—totally engaged in its pursuit.

It is because this war, indeed, is a total war that we must bring into it nothing fractioned, nothing narrow, nothing broken. We must make certain that we, Americans, bring into this war the sum of all we possess. We must bring our total contribution. Amongst innumerable other things we must bring the memory, the habit, the immense inertia of peace. We must bring into this war, carry through this war—careful that not a single item be mislaid—that tremendous list of achievements, uncertainties and hopes which make up our democracy. We must bring our free labor unions and our Latinists, our faltering attempts at interracial justice and our chess players, the Methodist Conference, the Eucharistic Congress and Jehovah's Witnesses. We must bring Oswald Garrison Villard and Mr. Agar, Ralph Ingersoll and Dorothy Day. We must bring the TVA and Boulder Dam. If we are forced to listen to these people who tell us we are in the war—then let us come into the war and through the war into the peace, all of us, with all our thoughts, all of us with not one missing, so that we all will be there, so that America will be there, when the war is finished. It is our total diversity that we must bring to the war and hold to throughout the war. It is the coexistence of our diverse populations—living as best they can together—that we must carry through the war so that the very notion of human fraternity be not lost. This is the total war effort which is demanded of us—that we should lose nothing, be careless about nothing, forget nothing, abandon no search, yield up no calm while the young men of our nation are fighting. It is for this reason that those of us—the great majority of the nation—who are not in the war need feel no shame, must never be made to feel uneasy. America, advancing through the war to the post-war world, must not be diminished, for there will be an empty world to fill.

* * *

If all this sounds like the program of pre-war France, well then make the most of it. The French faced the first surprise of the stuka and the tank. The French were defeated. What they have lost, we will add to our list of things to carry through the war into a world in which they and we can live.

New Directors for German Industry

Events force a change in managerial policy.

By **Paul Wohl**

THE LAST few months have brought about a deep change in Germany's industrial set-up. Responsibility is being returned to the industrialists. They are being freed of bureaucratic controls. Even the formerly all-powerful Price Commissioner has lost part of his jurisdiction. One by one the official boards and agencies which controlled the allocation of raw material, labor and foreign trade are disappearing. Offhand it might appear that Hitler is returning German economy to a capitalistic free enterprise basis. There is, however, a joker. All financial wellsprings are in fact a part of the state, so that no business, no matter how great its apparent independence, can pursue a policy of its own.

In 1939, a few months before the war, State Secretary Brinckmann of the German Ministry of Economic Affairs declared that the economic policy of the nazis led to "added growth of big business and extinction or inanimation of small and medium independent firms." Two days later the German press announced State Secretary Brinckmann's resignation as a result of a nervous breakdown accompanied by a complete loss of memory. Leading nazi officials had no quarrel with the conditions Brinckmann revealed. It was to his brutal frankness that they objected. They had no loss of memory with regard to their promises to protect medium and small business. They wished to maintain the forms although in fact they knew that the nazi régime had brought about an unparalleled concentration of business and industry in a few hands.

This process of concentration, which now would seem to be taking a new direction, became even more intense with the war. So much so that it has become possible to replace the complicated administrative control of entire industries by the political control of a few personalities.

The result is at present much the same as that

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which I encountered in Russia in 1935. On the eve of the great purge, Stalin's brother-in-law, L. M. Kaganovich, launched a campaign against excessive interference of control and regulating boards with the management of industry. The directors of state trusts which were presumably autonomous and which were managed according to commercial principles were freed of bureaucratic regulations in "the operational sphere." The corollary of their independence was their increased responsibility. I remember various conversations with Soviet officials about the merits of this plan, which at that time impressed me as a step in the right direction. Some of the officials did not seem particularly enthusiastic. The reason, of course, was that they could no longer place the blame for shortcomings upon intervention by central regulative agencies. They were on their own. They had to produce or face Siberia or the firing squad. Some of the results were tragicomic. Frantic trust directors bid against each other to get material. When transportation was unobtainable, ancient, outmoded horse-drawn droschkis were mobilized by the directors of some of the most modern industries. In 1936-37 many of these men lost their heads.

It is a like threat which Hitler holds over Germany's leading industrialists. The independence which he has returned to them under conditions of utmost strain is in reality an ominous burden. It was to the industrialists rather than to the army officers that Hitler was addressing himself in his last menacing speech in which he demanded unlimited powers of punishment. He did not need such power. It was a political maneuver, as, in part, was the apparent restoration of independence to business. Should anything go wrong in the economic sphere, it will not now be the party bureaucracy or the nazi hierarchy which will be blamed. It will be the industrialists.

The history

Here is what has happened. Until the last few months industry in nazi Germany was controlled through a maze of supervisory offices generally connected with such regional organizations as compulsory Chambers of Commerce (Wirtschaftskammern). These supervisory agencies were the permanent instruments for the translation of the programs formulated by the Reich's Ministry of Economy and the Administration for the Four Year Plan. This bureaucracy was superimposed by the nazis upon two groups which were already in existence prior to the ascendancy of the party to power: (1) confederations of merchants and business men, (2) cartels. The former intervened on behalf of their members with the government and legislative bodies, the purpose of the latter was to control the market.

The nazis made membership in all national confederations and in all but a few cartels compulsory. The confederations were transformed by law into "industry groups" under the direction of a business führer; in practically every case a representative of the largest concern was the führer. He and the directorate of his group were in turn controlled by the bureaucratic machinery.

The men who staffed the hundreds of control boards were for the most part former employees, in fact if not in name, of the various confederations and cartels over which they now had jurisdiction. Many of them could look back upon ten or even twenty years of experience with various economic organizations such as chambers of commerce, unions of industrialists and merchants or employers' associations. Prior to 1933, they represented a peculiar kind of private or half private administration which business had created for its own purposes. These men were among the most competent elements in the nazi party. They were also among the first men in business circles to adopt the swastika.

Most of them had university degrees and could have qualified for highly responsible civil service positions. Almost all were recruited from the impoverished upper middle class. Their attitude was full of contradiction. To the public and to those outside their organizations they would appear even more authoritative and "official" than the officials of the government itself. Quite frequently they were better paid than civil servants. On the other hand, these organizational officials lacked the security conferred by civil service status. Legally, under the Weimar Republic, they remained what they had been under the Kaiser: qualified private employees whose contracts depended upon the judgment of the business men who raised the budget and directed the general policy of their organization.

As a director of the International Chamber of Commerce I was constantly in close contact with this organizational business bureaucracy and learned from experience of the hidden resentment of many of these men. They liked to think of themselves as representing the public interest, as quasi-state officials. Yet, they had very little real authority, being compelled to act by consent and compromise. Despite their obsequious behavior toward those who were, in fact, their employers, they felt humiliated at having to accept instructions from practical business men without civil service or university training. The spirit of these men with their personal repressions, their administrative vanity and their constant shifting from a subservient to an overbearing attitude was a special German phenomenon encountered in no other country and in no other social stratum.

To the amazement of their chiefs a large number of these organizational officials had enlisted

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secretly in the Nazi Party long before 1933. Their great hour struck when Hitler seized power. No longer were they employees of private associations, but dignitaries of the all-powerful Party. And as the Party coordinated all private and public activities and penetrated into every sphere of economic life, they became the economic officialdom of the nazi state charged with the control of those who originally had hired their services.

Nazi control

Even from his own experience with a war economy, an American business man must find it difficult to imagine the extent to which the nazi machine of economic control—years before the actual outbreak of the war—held private business under its sway. It was necessary to have a permit to buy raw material and another permit to use it, a permit for hiring and discharging labor or for a change in working conditions, a permit to use new machinery or to discontinue the use of existing tools, a permit for transportation. The entire accounting department was under control. Questionnaires had to be answered by every section of a factory. Everything was closely bound in red tape.

The industrialists and business men themselves resented the bureaucratic activities of their former employees. "The supervising offices, control boards, procurement and distributing agencies have certainly a good staff," argued Dr. Emil Helfferich, son of Imperial Germany's war-time Minister of Finance, in *Der Volkswirt* of September 13, 1940, " . . . a number of experienced business men have now been appointed to these boards. The question remains, however, whether it would not be better to detach certain functions from the official sphere . . . whether the powerful position of the state must not lead to a bureaucratization of business . . ."

The *Volkswirt*, Germany's most prominent economic magazine, asked that leading firms acceptable to the nazis and of recognized competence be freed from the supervision of the import-export, raw material and other control boards.

Despite these warnings, the nazi New Order bureaucracy continued to increase. With the military expansion of "Great Germany," its best men were spread over the vast administrative machine covering most of Europe, including Italy, Spain and other countries. Old men, women and even former inmates of concentration camps, notorious enemies of the régime, had to be mobilized for administrative work. The effect was to lower substantially the quality of supervision.

While the best brains of the bureaucracy were finding their energies increasingly absorbed by the problems of the occupied areas, business men in certain industries with most highly concentrated ownership saw an opportunity to rid themselves of administrative control. The case they had to make was that their industries had attained such unity that they could themselves best carry out the majority of the functions hitherto fulfilled by the supervising agencies.

This movement was initiated in a period when the Germans were sure of eventual victory. It was supported by certain nazi officials who, like Reichsmarshal Herrmann Goering, had obtained substantial business interests.

One of the advantages from the standpoint of the government, as such, was to free administrators and bureau officials for other tasks. Thus it was that the initiative for the present reform was taken by some of the most important industrialists themselves. Its realization, however, has come at a time when victory no longer is certain, with the result that the party hierarchy has self-made scape-goats ready for sacrifice should Hitler deem it necessary.

First step

The first step in the direction of greater independence for business was made in the coal trust which was organized on a European scale into a sort of semi-official union on the model of Germany's compulsory "industry groups." In the case of chemicals, steel, motor cars, rayon and some other industries, the German members of these new unions or Vereinigungen practically own or control the rest of the industry in Europe, and the Vereinigungen are now taking over the functions of the official economic administration of the New Order as well as production, price, patent, market and other controls formerly exercised by cartels.

This reversal of the direction of the New Order in Germany and Europe is one of the most important events inside Hitler's realm. The "industry groups" have even taken over a part of the jurisdiction of the nazi price commissioner Wagner. This old nazi official was himself replaced by a man associated with the new trusts and Vereinigungen—one Fishboeck, a banker who arranged the details for the acquisition of most of the Netherlands industries and of Dutch international securities (American and British) for the benefit of German interests.

In a recent statement Reich Minister of Economy Dr. Funk has announced a speedy demobilization of "the red tape of state economic control" which has allegedly obstructed armament output. According to this statement the "organizations of the chamber of economy, the handicraft groups and the import-export and raw material quota boards, among other agencies, are to be shaken down into single regional bodies, so-called Gauwirtschaftskammern," and as responsible leaders are found to manage various industry groups, the state is to delegate economic powers to them.

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In the words of the *Deutsche Allegemeine Zeitung,* the exercise of control is to be handed to the industry itself—that is, of course, not to the individual industrialist, but to his professional group in which membership is compulsory and whose führer or president is appointed by the State. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,* whose editors undoubtedly remember State Secretary Dr. Brinckmann's nervous breakdown accompanied by complete loss of memory, does not mention that this transfer of economic power takes place only in those branches where "the extinction or inanimation of small and medium independent firms" has progressed so rapidly that the state is confronted with one huge trust or combine which controls the entire industry. In this case the nazi state has indeed abandoned the task of trying to check on production costs and prices.

Thus the Vereinigung of the hemp and flax industry, whose rules are quoted by the German press as an example, is authorized to determine prices, profit margins and terms of supply and payment. The rules of the Vereinigung for chemical fibres give prominence to the additional tasks of establishing production and import plans and of regulating the market in Germany and abroad —formerly a function of international cartels. In a statement published on March 12, Dr. Vits, the president of this organization and director general of the United Rayon Works (Vereinigte Glanzstoff, A.G.) declared: "Industrialists welcome the formation of the Vereinigungen or unions particularly because it will be possible to entrust these bodies with part of the functions which at present are exercised by Government agencies." The *Frankfurter Zeitung* of April 7 already spoke of economic planning on a world-wide scale through the medium of such unions.

On June 2 Berlin announced the formation of a vast steel association including all plants or firms engaged in mining iron ores or producing and marketing steel and its alloys. This new German monster trust which combines all stages of the iron and steel industry from the raw material to the finished product, will—according to Dr. Funk —"shift orders and distribute available materials among its members and become the organ of self-administration of the German steel industry without hindrance of government red tape." Its chairman and responsible führer is Germany's leading steel industralist, Herrmann Roechling of Saarbruecken, with Dr. Krupp of the Essen Krupp works and Dr. Roland of the United Steel Works in Duesseldorf as his deputies.

Nazi Germany's new economic policy is mainly the result of brutal necessity. Even if they wanted to, the nazis in the presented emergency could not afford to increase the Party's economic bureaucracy. The trained men are not available. Wherever industry is concentrated in a few hands it is more convenient to place its leaders under the sole restraint of Hitler's power to throw them into a concentration camp or to punish them with death without further formalities. Moreover, living conditions have become very bad and, despite Dr. Goebbels' propaganda, public opinion, under the old set-up, might have been inclined to hold the nazi bureaucrats responsible for the present hardship.

Until now the purges have not affected leading German industralists, but if the present offensive fails, dramatic events may occur in Germany. It would be easier for Hitler to use the "new powers" legalized by the Reichstag against leaders of big business concerns than to victimize recalcitrant generals who might succeed in drawing at least part of their officers and men to their side. The industrialists have not even a press with which to answer charges. The execution of leading business men might be ordered in an effort to appease, for a time at least, public opinion.

Despite the favorable comment which the new economic policy of the nazis has found in the government-controlled press and with such officially appointed leaders as President Vits, German industrialists and their collaborationist colleagues in Holland, France and elsewhere have now every reason to be apprehensive.

Rift

From the very start only one faction of the nazi party considered the new economic order as a "business proposition," even though the increased wealth of a unified Europe would be strictly under German control. This was the faction of Goering, Funk, Schacht and other more practically minded men. The other faction represents the ascetic military school. Hitler himself is closer to the latter. Personally he believes that capitalism is incompatible with the soldierly virtues of a master race. He loves to compare his men to "lean hounds as supple as steel blades and as tough as leather." The modern business man, in his mind, is a corrupting element seeking to stimulate new and unnecessary needs and appetites, a seducer who transforms sturdy workers and peasants into soft sybarites eager for enjoyment and pursuit of personal happiness. The ascetic-military faction supported by the more radical nazis might still try to mobilize Germany's last forces under revolutionary slogans and use a blood bath of conservative officers and business leaders to drown the memory of their own crimes and blunders.

Meanwhile it is not impossible, of course, that the bogus independence of industry and the abolition of the visible machine of bureaucratic control will be used by the other faction as an argument in favor of a negotiated peace, the aim of which would be to conserve the political and financial positions which the German army has established for the new German controlled "European" trusts.

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Ottawa in Wartime

By MARGARET WADE LABARGE

CANADA'S capital, like Washington, is pre-eminently a government city. Unlike London or Paris, it is not the natural cultural or business center of the country. Chosen by Queen Victoria as a fair compromise between French-speaking Montreal and intensely English Toronto, Ottawa has grown from a tiny settlement to a beautiful and busy city. This present war has changed the face of Ottawa and quickened its tempo to an extent undreamed of in the years of peace. As an expression of the Canadian outlook, which shares so many American ideas but is yet quite different and quite independent, a picture of Ottawa in these hectic days may cast some light for Americans on their well-liked but little-known northern cousins.

Physically, the war has brought many changes to Ottawa. The vast expansion of all government departments, the creation of new wartime units such as munitions and supply, have overflowed the available space, and large temporary buildings have mushroomed overnight in every open space. This growth in turn has brought many thousands into the civil service, mostly young girls, typists and stenographers, trying to maintain a rather precarious existence on the microscopic minimum salary. All Canada is represented on the busy streets, restaurants are crowded, decent accommodation is almost impossible to find—all this parallels Washington's development, though on a much smaller scale.

The streets, too, show war's impact. They are crowded with men of the armed forces, both from the various staffs and from the army and air force establishments near the city. The air force blue predominates and obviously possesses the most glamor for the feminine element. The scope of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan is illustrated by the initials on these airmen's shoulders—Australians, New Zealanders, many volunteer Americans. But in Ottawa, the military side of the war is overshadowed by the governmental side. Parliament sits in long and earnest session on Parliament Hill and the civil service's carefree days of peace, when night work was unheard of, are mocked by the lights which burn incessantly in every government office. The charms of the Gatineau Hills which lie just across the Ottawa River, the skiing in winter, the many cottages in summer are less persuasive now that longer hours and gasoline rationing have cut down on Canadians' vacation impulses.

The war has brought many physical changes to this capital city of Canada, but it has brought even greater changes to its mental outlook. In the years before the war Canada concerned herself little with European politics. Her attitude was nearly as isolationist as that of the United States, though that isolationism was countered by her membership in the British Empire and her very real ties of loyalty to England. However, the outbreak of the war accelerated tremendously the rather slow process of Canada's growing-up. Canada declared war on Germany, not automatically when England did, but independently and on her own. During the first two difficult years she settled down to act as intermediary and interpreter between the United States and England, having a share in both their problems. The discussions concerning hemisphere defense, the understanding between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King, Canada's billion dollar gift to England, the steady stream of men, munitions and food which have been convoyed across the Atlantic: all these are examples of the way in which Canada has fulfilled that double function. Ottawa reflects this new Canadian position in miniature. She has been favored with many distinguished visitors since the visit of the King and Queen in the spring of 1939. Mr. Churchill has spoken in the House of Commons on Ottawa's Parliament Hill; the Duke of Kent spent some days in the city in his tour of the air training schools of the Dominion. The short, bustling figure of Mayor LaGuardia on his way to a meeting of the Joint Defense Committee is a familiar sight, and there are still optimistic rumors concerning a possible visit of President Roosevelt.

Up until the time of the United States' entry into the war Canada's chief function was that of interpreter, to show by her actions that the war in Europe affected the American continent as well, that nazism was the enemy not only of England but of all people who cherish liberty. With Pearl Harbor the scene changed overnight. The dissident elements in the United States were silenced or driven underground and the country girded all its mighty powers to the successful prosecution of the war. Canada, never very boisterous in its own praise, was forgotten except for the occasional reference in the papers, and the achievements of Canada's war effort, insufficiently publicized in the States, were not only unsung but often misrepresented.

Canada, however, has been figuring with unpleasant prominence in certain sections of the United States press over the recent issue of the plebiscite. THE COMMONWEAL of May 8 carried an intelligent and understanding editorial on the results of that plebiscite. The lack of harmony between the English and French is a fundamental factor of Canadian life which has been greatly magnified by the war. Ottawa, by its very racial make-up, is again a valuable microcosm of the two great currents of opinion. The

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capital is nearly forty percent French—it is, of course, just across the river from the province of Quebec—but it is little affected by the violent nationalist feelings of the extremists in Montreal and Quebec City. The enlistment of the French from the Ottawa district has been satisfactory, although the problem in all the forces of giving the French personnel adequate instruction is complicated by the question of language and the difficulty over textbooks.

This problem is even more acute so far as officers are concerned than it is in the rank and file. However, French boys overseas have distinguished themselves: two French boys from Ottawa have won the Distinguished Flying Medal—and one of them was a Christian Brother! On the other hand, the English opinion in Ottawa is less violently imperialistic than that of Toronto, for example, and there has been a real and determined effort among the more influential to understand and sympathize with Quebec's problems. Mr. Mackenzie King has spent his twenty-two years as the head of the Liberal Party trying, with the aid of such eminent French-Canadians as the late Mr. Lapointe, to unify French and English as Canadians. To a certain extent he has succeeded; the more glaring mistakes of the last war have not been repeated, but the bugaboo of "fighting England's war instead of Canada's"—for the French are probably the greatest Canadian patriots—was revived by the extremists during the plebiscite campaign and proved a rallying cry. How quietly these extremists will accept conscription for overseas service now that it has been shown to be the will of the majority remains to be seen. So far the voluntary system has brought the armed forces to a strength of nearly 450,000, not too bad for a country of less than twelve million.

Meanwhile Ottawa is busy organizing Canadian strength and adjusting equally, as far as possible, the impact of the war upon all citizens. The average Canadian is touched in many ways by the many government controls: the price ceiling for goods and services which, adopted in December, has so far kept the cost of living index stationary; the rationing of gas, the voluntary rationing of sugar; the rather firm requests to eat less ham and bacon, less cheese, so that more of these essential foods may be shipped to Britain; the high taxes and the purchase of War Saving Certificates and Victory Bonds. These are some of the many undramatic, rather colorless ways that the average Canadian is trying to do his share. Canada is in this war to win just as wholeheartedly as the United States, spending money without stint that men's lives may be safeguarded, and Ottawa is the center of this determination and this activity. By the roundabout and sometimes slow and argumentative methods of democracy Ottawa is organizing the material and human wealth of Canada to win the fight that, French and English, they realize they cannot dare to lose.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

ONCE MORE the movement toward cooperation among Protestants and Catholics in England has produced notable fruit. Mr. George Barnard, the London correspondent of the NCWC, has sent a full and profoundly interesting account of the recent action taken by the leaders of this cooperative movement after a long series of discussions lasting several months, resulting in a joint statement issued on behalf of the Catholic, Anglican and Free Church leaders, released at a public meeting and reception at which the guests were received by Cardinal Hinsley and the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury. It was announced that in addition to a very important joint statement representing the agreed views of the three main bodies in guarding against the present peril to our Christian heritage of culture and civilization, and to ensure common action in facing present and post-war problems, a joint committee had also been set up to maintain permanent relations between the Catholic organization known as the Sword of the Spirit, and the Religion and Life organization which has been started among Anglicans and Free Churchmen to accomplish in their ranks what the Sword of the Spirit has been doing among, and for, English Catholics.

I understand that an important article dealing with the Sword of the Spirit, written by Mr. Frank Sheed, is to be published in the American *Ecclesiastical Review*. Let us hope that it may stimulate our clergy to examine the need for a similar movement among us, and similar cooperation with our separated Christian and Jewish brethren. It would seem to be time to encourage rather than to discourage such cooperation, in view of the alarming things to be heard concerning a new Catholic magazine "published by Catholic laymen under clerical direction," entitled *Catholic International,* which is said to be strongly opposed to all inter-faith activities, so far as Catholics are concerned. However, until I have had an opportunity personally to read the new publication it would not be fair to it, nor to my readers, to indulge in any further comments.

It is a great relief to return to the statement issued in England, especially to the very sensible paragraph which traces the lines within which the cooperation may safely extend. It reads as follows: "We agree that there is a large area of common ground on which, without raising ultimate questions of Church order and doctrine which divide us, full cooperation is possible, and already taking place. The Church of England, the Church of Scotland and the Evangelical Free Churches have already cooperated some considerable time in the social and international

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field. There has also been, for more than twenty years, cooperation for limited social purposes with the Roman Catholic Church. But the first clear definition of a large common area is to be found in the Ten Points of the *Times* letter of December 21, 1940, which was signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Cardinal Hinsley, and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council. . . . But there are many other pronouncements, such as that issued by the Malvern Conference, the document on Social Justice and Economic Reconstruction issued by the Commission of the Churches, the statement on 'A Christian Realm' put forward by the Church Union of the Church of England, the social Encyclicals of the Popes from Leo XIII onwards, and many others, all relevant to the common obligation we accept."

American Catholics will of course rejoice to see that what the Popes have been teaching, for the most part to a very unattentive world, with few Catholics in a position to criticize other people with justice for their lack of attention, is now appreciated by the leaders of Protestantism, as well as by Catholics, in England. But we ought not to rest content with every sign that indicates that other people are paying attention to what we have to say, through our leaders; for we ought also to be studying and learning all that is good and worthy of being accepted in what Protestant and Jewish students and teachers have to tell us in the fields of social action, in which doctrinal differences are not operative.

What the *Catholic Times* of London has to say, editorially, concerning the new agreement, is worth quoting. After repeating the assurance, contained in the statement itself, that the memorandum is a call for collaboration in external matters, leaving the doctrines of each denomination intact, the writer continues: "The basis of collaboration in the material order is a respect for the conscience of all who believe in Christ, and in the Christian way of life. The present agreement is not intended as a step on the way to reunion. . . . It is obvious that people are waiting for deliverance from evil, especially social evil. They may be given a genuine deliverance in the doctrines of Christ, or a sham deliverance in the doctrines of anti-Christ. . . . Against the dangers of anti-Christ, only unity among Christian will really prevail. We believe that the new agreement has been signed in Christian charity; and that it has as its aim the establishment of the reign of Christ on Earth."

Communications

ARMY ON PAROLE

Agawam, Mass.

TO the Editors: I have received several letters from various prisons of the country from inmates who have read my recent article in THE COMMONWEAL (March 13), upon the question of allowing men in prisons to enroll in our armed forces. They all had one question to ask of me: "Why did I not mention the amount of money their prison had raised for war bonds and stamps?"

Two days ago, a letter came from San Quentin, with the enclosed paper, stating they had raised over $18,000 for war bonds and stamps—far more than any prison mentioned in my article.

If you have the space, since THE COMMONWEAL is evidently carefully read within our prisons, will you permit me to say I would have been pleased to mention those prisons whose inmates have written me, but at the time I did not know as I now do of the fine effort they are making.

Somehow, as I read these pleas by men who would serve their country if they could, and think too, of the self denial behind the purchase of all these bonds and stamps, I wonder what we outside of prison walls are doing to match this sacrifice.

CHARLES J. DUTTON.

ADVANCE TOWARDS JUSTICE

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editors: Alderman George D. Kells, chairman of our finance committee and one of the most civic-minded citizens of Chicago, called our attention to your editorial "Advance Toward Justice," which appeared in the May 29 issue of THE COMMONWEAL. We want to commend you for this excellent editorial which we are certain will have tremendous effect, and we are indeed glad to note that the great Catholic Church is becoming so active in the fight against intolerance and bigotry.

A. L. FOSTER,
Executive Secretary,
Chicago Urban League.

INNER FORUM

Elkins Park, Pa.

TO the Editors: In your issue of THE COMMONWEAL for May 22, in "The Inner Forum," you state that "the first Retreat House for Women in the United States was founded in New York City just fifty years ago. . . ." This statement is incorrect. In 1880 an American woman, Lucy Eaton Smith, began a Dominican foundation of the Third Order in the Albany diocese for the express purpose of giving opportunity for retreats to American women. In 1882 a house was purchased on the Albany-Troy road—and used for two years as a Retreat House. In 1884 the young community removed to the city of Albany where they continued their retreat work. In 1887 they built the Convent of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart at 886 Madison Avenue. This convent is still functioning as a Retreat House. In 1890 a second foundation of the community was made in Saratoga Springs where retreats were likewise the chief "active" work of the sisters.

This very year, when the Cenacle Sisters are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of their establishment in America, is the Golden Jubilee of the religious profession of Mother Mary Bertrand in this Dominican Congregation. Before her entrance into religion she had traveled from Boston with some other ladies to make a retreat at what was described to her as "the only retreat house in the

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United States." It was not unusual at that time to have ladies come from as far as New York, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Boston and Syracuse to the Albany Convent to avail themselves of the opportunity of making a retreat.

I join with THE COMMONWEAL in offering congratulations to the Cenacle Sisters on their Golden Jubilee. They have certainly accomplished untold good in their furtherance of the retreat movement.

ALICE M. CARROLL.

THE RUB

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editors: Your first two editorials in the issue of June 12 entitled "War Aims Taking Form" and "The Rub" are contradictory, to say the least. In the first, you endorse Vice-President Wallace's points about abolition of discrimination between peoples and about ending of the age of imperialism. In the second, you bow to the occupants of Kremlin, the worst tyrants and imperialists in history.

So you are serving two sets of masters—and you are decidedly more favorable to the latter set.

It is beyond comprehension of anybody how a Catholic paper can so lightheartedly indorse handing Christian countries—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—to the tyrant who is no less terrible than was Nero.

ANTHONY S. POCIUS.

Editor's Note: See page 243 of this issue.

THE WAR

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: False promises have won wars: they have never won a peace. And by false promises, I do not mean promises made with deliberate intention to deceive, but promises made in ignorance of ability to perform—as the promises of some of our spokesmen, the wisdom of which THE COMMONWEAL questions.

For these promises fail to take into account the frailty of our human nature, a nature that wishes no part of mankind should suffer, but is quite unwilling to renounce any special advantage of any part for the common good of all.

Belief in such promises may win the war, but the disillusionment over their non-fulfillment will as surely lose the next peace, as did the disillusionment that followed the last war lose the peace that preceded this war. The injury done to a people's faith by unfulfilled promises leaves them morally disarmed against a future attack on their peace.

If the next post-war period is not to be a sad repetition of the last, we should be slow to promise blessings, but quick to perform the small obligations that face us now. For it is what we perform during the war, not what we promise for after the war, that will determine the character of the coming peace.

What can we do now? Can we not demand that each agreement entered into by the United Nations shall look to winning of the peace no less than the war; that these agreements be extended gradually to all peoples resisting the axis domination, and that China be treated immediately on equality with Great Britain, Russia and ourselves, in formulating the post-war policy?

No country has suffered more for the cause. The admission of no country to high councils of the U. N. would do more to assure Asia a voice in final settlement, and any settlement in which Asia has not a voice gives little promise of enduring peace.

The Asiatic peoples demand rightfully equal places in the family of nations, and denial of this just claim can only lead to a violent assertion of it in no distant future. By granting their just demands now, we give proof of our professions. By postponing consideration of their demands till after the war, we jeopardize not only winning the peace, but the war. But in faithful performance of present obligations lies the only assurance that we shall win the war and the peace.

FRANK D. SLOCUM.

The Stage & Screen

By Jupiter

"BY JUPITER" is very probably the swan song of a type of entertainment for which Broadway has shown special genius: the lavish, eye-filling, tuneful, danceful, comic musical extravaganza. Already Joshua Logan, who expertly staged its fast-paced action, has been called up by the Army, and others responsible are sure to follow soon, not to speak of the economic forces at work.

Rogers and Hart have based their book on Julian F. Thompson's "The Warrior's Husband" in which New York got its first glimpse of Miss Katharine Hepburn's handsome gams ten years back. There are handsome gams galore in "By Jupiter," and faces too; top-drawer dancing under Robert Alton's inventive direction; sets and costumes by Jo Mielziner and Irene Sharoff in their most opulent manner; Richard Rodgers tunes and Lorenz Hart lyrics; and last but far from least, Ray Bolger in his first starring rôle.

The plot consists in variations on a single joke. In the queendom of the Amazons, the usual order is reversed; the females wield the spears and the males wield the needles. Legend rules that so long as Queen Hippolyta wears the magic Girdle of Diana, her sex will dominate. It's up to Hercules to restore man's natural estate by pinching the girdle.

I shudder to think what the ordinary run of Broadway producer would have done with such a situation. There appears to be a benighted opinion along that Avenue that the spectacle of masculine effeminacy is invariably screamingly funny. The true comedy in the Amazonian premise resides in its paradox—as when, for example, the encamped warriors sing wistfully of "The Boy I Left Behind Me"; the "comedy" which supposes an innate humor in homosexual behavior is distasteful and dismal, lacking even the gusto of frank vulgarity. I suspect that

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the often-demonstrated good taste of co-producer Dwight Deere Wiman was considerably responsible for keeping the latter at a reasonable minimum in "By Jupiter"; and even more, the redeeming performance of Ray Bolger as Hippolyta's bridegroom.

Bolger's lengthy solo dances, such as brilliantly featured "On Your Toes," are considerably pruned in "By Jupiter"; which strikes at first as a disappointment; until one comes to understand that his entire performance is a single extended pantomimic dance. The expressive distortions of his likably homely features are as much a part of the dance as the limber dislocations of his rubbery legs, the waggish tapping of his toes or the eloquent miming of his overlength hands. Where ordinary tap-dancing is an interlude of virtuosity, Bolger's is character-reading and plot-development. To stop the show for an isolated exhibition of terpsichorean polish would have meant to sacrifice the remarkable integration of his rôle, which is easily the outstanding feature of the performance.

Benay Venuta is properly brash as Queen Hippolyta. Constance Moore, borrowed from Hollywood B-pictures, is a highly decorative Antiope, although her speaking and singing voice lack the volume and development to match the rich baritone of Ronald Graham, who plays Theseus and resembles Adonis. Bertha Belmore, despite her weight of years and flesh, tap-dances beside Ray Bolger (her son in the script) in a manner to delay the curtain for encores. A perkish young blonde billed as Vera-Allen is the best of the specialty dancers; her Basin Street version of "The Gateway of the Temple of Minerva" has impish wit as well as lilting tempo. Richard Rodgers's score isn't his best, but you're likely to be whistling "Nobody's Heart Belongs to Me" or "Ev'rything I've Got" on your way out; and to say that the lyrics are middle-grade Lorenz Hart is still to say that they're well up in the top ten percent of tongue-in-cheek verse. *(At the Shubert.)*

The Cat Screams

BASIL BEYEA is evidently an assiduous reader of play notices. Several months back, the critics complained that not enough happened in Marc Connelly's melodrama in a Mexican eden, "The Flowers of Virtue." Consequently, into his own Mexican idyll Mr. Beyea crowded a full anthology of footlight horrors, from cat-masked drug addicts to poisoned humming birds, culminating in four deaths and a suicide. The few members of the cast who survived the preposterous carnage—including Martin Wolfson, Doris Nolan, Lloyd Gough and Mildred Dunnock—are now looking for new jobs, and Mr. Beyea no longer enjoys press notices.

DAVID BURNHAM.

Making Hey-Hey While the Sun Shines

FARMERS never have got much of a break in the movies. Some of the documentary films have stated their problems effectively and a few of the features like "Grapes of Wrath" and "Harvest" have shown more than a passing or humorous interest in agriculture. *"Juke Girl,"* in spite of its name, could have presented a strong case for the farmer. It uses as an interesting background Florida truck farmers and the raw deal they get from distributors. It shows how the farmer sweats over his beans and tomatoes—plants, hoes, harvests, takes to the market and gets rooked. The scriptwriters might even have rung in a little publicity for cooperatives in straightening the plot. But A. I. Bezzerides, who wrote the screenplay, had to concentrate on a boy-meets-girl formula (although it varies somewhat in that nice boy meets bad girl). Gene Lockhart plays the villain as a mean middleman who not only cheats the good Greek farmer (excellently portrayed by George Tobias) but also accidentally kills him and then lays the blame on the nice boy from Kansas (Ronald Reagan as a dreamy, crop-loving kid who wants to settle down every time he sees a piece of land). The whole farm situation has to compete in interest with Ann Sheridan. Ann's a singer and dime-a-dancer in Jook Alley where the farmers and itinerant pickers spend their hard-earned cash. Director Curtis Bernhardt tried to make something of the conglomeration that went into "Juke Girl." Some of the scenes are thrilling cinema: the fight among the crates of tomatoes, the farmers walking out on the villains to help with a harvest, the Greek's return after the big "take" in Atlanta. Actors Richard Whorf, Alan Hale, Howard da Silva are assets to the film's cast, but neither actors nor director could make convincing the overly smart, fast repartee or the melodramatic, hiss-the-villain story. This is too bad, because we're ripe for a good film about growing things and their growers.

"Take a Letter Darling" is one of those unimportant but witty movies full of gay situations and wisecracks. The fun starts when svelte, sleek, smart Rosalind Russell, partner in an advertising agency, hires Fred MacMurray as her secretary to entertain suspicious wives while Roz clinches million dollar deals with husbands. This kind of comedy could fall awfully flat if not handled by the right people. "Take a Letter Darling" is handled by the right people. Mitchell Leisen has directed with speedy pace and flippant touches that are not allowed to lag. Claude Binyon has peppered his screenplay with gags and events that keep you laughing without giving you a chance to delve too deeply into the absurdity of the story. Miss Russell and Mr. MacMurray play their rôles for all that's in 'em without overdoing. She fits perfectly his description of her: "A beautiful brain with beautiful clothes, but no heart, no pulse." Beautiful clothes, indeed; and how she wears 'em. And MacMurray is brainy, handsome, masculine enough to become her "encyclopedia with muscles." He resents his job. Who wouldn't when his attractive boss describes him to a client as "Just a bit of hamburger I brought along for your wolf." The leads are given good support: Robert Benchley with his laissez-faire; MacDonald Carey as a woman-hating tobacco magnate; Constance Moore as his sister who becomes more interested in Fred's charms than his advertising techniques. "Take a Letter Darling" is a happy blending of production, direction, acting, music and script that results in fluffy but adult fun.

It would seem that a talented, attractive young actress

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like Shirley Temple could find a vehicle that would show her charms to best advantage. Edward Small's new production does not have that vehicle. As *"Miss Annie Rooney"* Shirley is lovely to look at and does some of her best acting. Director Edwin L. Marin has handled the problems of giggling adolescents well and has managed the inevitable first kiss with propriety and sensible taste. Young Dickie Moore gives Shirley this peck on her cheek. Our Junior Miss is a little startled, but not displeased. The film concentrates on modern sweet-girl-romance with the expected jitterbugging, the slang youngsters use today and schoolgirls' dreams. Unfortunately all this is hung on a stupid, old-fashioned story about a girl from the poor part of the city who likes the boy from Sutton Place. The girl's father (William Gargan) and grandfather (Guy Kibbee) hock their all to get an evening outfit so she can go to the party on Sutton Place; then papa spoils everything by crashing the party to interest the rich boy's father in his invention for making rubber from milkweed. George Bruce's screenplay, written down for children, was directed unimaginatively and becomes incredibly dull. Our interest is held for a while by Shirley, by Peggy Ryan as her slangy, fast-talking friend, by the youngsters' fanciful figures of speech and jam session in which they cut a rug. But the cast deserves better material than this.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Books of the Week

Introductions

The Problems of Lasting Peace. Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson. Doubleday. $2.00.

Conditions of Peace. Edward Hallett Carr. Macmillan. $2.50.

TO WHAT EXTENT should the past serve as a guide for drawing up blueprints for the post-war world, for setting forth the kind of peace for which we fight? Every generation insists on feeling its own way, but in the past fifty years the cult of progress has thrown the lessons of history farther than ever before into the background. Too many modern moralists, with Lenin, have wanted to break with the past completely and to reconstitute society from the bare ground. But clearly admitting the wisdom of learning from past mistakes still leaves open the question as to whether the past or the future merit greater focus in thinking through the problems of the post-war world.

In "The Problems of Lasting Peace" Mr. Hoover and Mr. Gibson would focus attention on the past—the immediate past of the Armistice, Versailles and Europe of the 20's and 30's. In a rather popular vein—their historical summaries sprinkled with terse perorations—the authors do arrive at some rather sound political conclusions. "We can have peace or we can have revenge, but we cannot have both." There must be no more reparations nor even any sizable intergovernmental debts. With Sumner Welles and others, the authors sharply separate the period for immediate cessation of hostilities from the much longer intermediary period for setting up more permanent, if revisable, post-war arrangements. Mr. Hoover and Mr. Gibson have a wealth of first-hand

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experience to draw on, and as far as they go in this aspect of sound peacemaking they are politic and humane.

Concentration on the past takes up by far the greater part of their book. The greatest drawback to this approach is in economic matters, which receive short shrift at their hands. There is little indication that the authors have arrived at any viable conception of the world's new post-war economy. There is even an implication that "the turn to recovery in the spring of 1932" might well have brought back the best days of the 20's if it had been allowed to develop unhampered. "Problems of Lasting Peace" may be in fact one of the last books in our time seriously to advocate trying to revive "free economy." Since it is impossible to get away from the basic problem of bread and butter, since tyranny and war are the final refuge of impoverished and desperate peoples, failure to handle the economic problem adequately makes the Hoover-Gibson volume superficial despite its many worthy sentiments.

Professor Carr warns so often and so strenuously against trying to turn back the clock that "Conditions of Peace" provides a marked contrast. Its major emphasis is on the changed economic conditions that will confront the post-war world. And at the same time the author reiterates that the right to vote or to express oneself has little meaning without corresponding social and economic rights. Post-war democracy must be real democracy. Ethics, not the price system, must be the regulating force in our new economy.

Fundamental is the author's thesis that "we must meet the requirements of peace in exactly the same serious and methodical way in which we meet the problems of war." There must be the same infinitely expansible program of production; but this time it must be a plan of consumption based on human needs and even including priorities determined by the well-being of the community. Foreign trade is to develop from decisions as to what each country wants to buy from abroad. And again, as in war time, much of the whole program is to be financed out of savings. This planned consumption is one of the best answers yet given to the persisting question as to why only a war can enlist a whole nation's energies in a vital common task. For one-tenth of the sum expended for the present war, judicially allocated, could have eradicated many of the conditions that led directly to the outbreak of current hostilities. Professor Carr views the present state of the world as a moral crisis and he pleads for a *positive* peacetime aim (something beyond the difficult task of defeating Hitler) for which people will make sacrifices. He wants a new moral purpose to supplant the profit motive and the exploded theory that everyone working directly in his own interest thereby accomplishes the good of society as a whole.

Perhaps "Conditions of Peace" is most valuable for the questions that it raises. In the long run men and women will not sacrifice for a peacetime ideal that is not squarely based on reality. And it is difficult to see how they will do it without being, to some extent, aware of the brotherhood of the Mystical Body of Christ. That is one of the challenges embodied in Professor Carr's ideas. Then a consumer-motivated economy—as opposed to the hitherto producer-dominated economy of modern times — can hardly be achieved overnight. The consumers' cooperative movement, which the author leads up to but does not mention, is essentially gradualistic; for his purpose it would take too long. On the contrary, Professor Carr assigns a major rôle to the State in his new mixed economy without apparent apprehension as to the growing threat of statism to personal liberty in the political democracies. He has far too little to say about who is to man the controls.

Throughout Professor Carr displays remarkable powers of analysis. His politics are fully as far-sighted and humane as the American authors', and more detailed; addressed directly to the English, they none the less successfully pose the problems of Europe and of Empire for Americans as well. It is salutary to encounter an author who for all his social mindedness maintains that economically speaking there is little if any difference between a hand-grenade and a pair of silk stockings. It is as an introduction to the whole problem of peace aims that his volume excels. EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.

HISTORY

What Democracy Meant to the Greeks. W. R. Agard. North Carolina. $3.00.

THE QUESTION which this book raises is a very interesting one. The example of the Greek states was very much in the minds of the men who founded our form of society. It is a good thing, now that our form of life is attacked from without by force of arms and from within by pessimism and apathy, to look back to that inspiration and to have the meaning of its example and the causes of its failure clearly outlined in the minds of the men who now defend our tradition.

This is frankly history with a thesis. Mr. Agard begins by a definition of democracy, divided into ten motive conceptions. He then examines the rise and fall of the Greek democracies. His aim is to prove from their history that democracy has a validity which no other kind of society shares; that it nourishes the highest civilization; and that the faults which caused it to break down in the past are not organic failings but mistakes of practice that can be avoided or remedied.

There are few people who will not find this an interesting subject, and still fewer who will not learn a great deal of value from Mr. Agard's book. Modern minds are so rootless that any man who refers this country to past experience, and can make Americans realize that the forces molding society did not begin with the Treaty of Versailles or Karl Marx is greatly to our profit. But nevertheless this is not so good a book as it ought to be. There are two unconscious assumptions in the author's conception of democracy which, to my mind, throw his admirably compact and comprehensive survey out of focus. And because these are two deep-ingrained American assumptions which led us in part to our national disappointment after the last war, it seems worth while to notice them.

Mr. Agard believes in the progressive betterment of human society and, identifying progress with the democratic process, he considers democracy as "a dynamic organism rather than a static system." The weakness is his failure to recognize the newness of this conception. One has to go back no farther than John Adams to find that the two ideas of progress and representative government were not the same. So profoundly different did the world seem to men who did not believe in man's capacity to evolve a perfect society, but saw representative government as merely the best means of holding to a minimum the evils inherent in human character, that it forms one of the great psychological gulfs between an-

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tiquity and the twentieth century—not to say between America and Europe or Asia. In pondering the great problem of permanence and change, the modern identifies good with change while the Greek philosopher identified it with the permanent. Mr. Agard's glossing over this fundamental factor results, for example, in the surprising statement that Plato and Aristotle disliked the restlessness and disorder of the Greek democracies because of their aristocratic economic background.

Secondly, Mr. Agard is I think misled by the coincidence of Periclean democracy and Periclean art into assuming too broadly that good government and *all* the other factors of civilization, including great philosophy and great art, go together. Some of the admirably governed modern states of the past hundred years, like Iceland, Switzerland, Holland and England, have probably been better governed than Periclean Athens: but they have not produced art of the same quality. The reason is that democracy is a factor of our social nature whereas art and philosophy spring from the depth and vitality of the individual nature. The identification of community and individual values is one of the most widespread confusions in modern thought. As a result Mr. Agard identifies with democracy not only social results which we can expect of it as a social mechanism, but cultural developments which we must produce with other means. So long as we expect good government to produce not only what it is intended to produce, community welfare, but values which can only be produced in the solitude of the individual spirit, we shall be exposed to recurring disappointment such as that which took place after the last war; and shall rebound again from expecting too much of democratic government to equally unfounded cynicism.

E. P. RICHARDSON.

RELIGION

The Dialog Mass. Gerald Ellard, S.J. Preface by the Most Reverend Michael J. Curley. Longmans. $2.75.

THE VERY FACT that the ordinary of English-speaking America's oldest See wrote the preface for Father Ellard's book shows its importance. It is the third in an ascending climax of literary efforts by the leading American author on matters liturgical, narrowing down the problem of the liturgical movement to its *hic et nunc* basic problem: the participation of the laity in the *mysterium tremendum*. It is a fervent, optimistic and thorough appeal to the clergy, considerate and tactful, yet frank. Father Ellard's charity and diplomacy pervade the whole book. These qualities, together with a well-stocked arsenal of reasons, statistics and practical suggestions, make us hope that this is the final push which will be followed by a break through on the whole front.

We have to thank Father Ellard for the solid method with which he first establishes the historical situation of the dialogue Mass. Most priests have been hesitant because they feared to be either novelty seekers or to violate Church discipline. I think Father Ellard's arguments eliminate both these fears thoroughly. The general impression of this book is that neither the Holy See nor the hierarchy in general have objections of principle against the cautious, prudent and universal introduction of the dialogue Mass in institutions, schools and parishes. Father Ellard is an enthusiastic advocate of the dialogue Mass, yet he is honest enough to mention that there are a few bishops who hesitate as yet to give permission in a general way.

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There is no doubt that we have reached a stalemate in the liturgical movement in spite of the sale of millions of Missals . . . "the country as a whole seems to be about as far from the prescribed form of active participation at High Mass as it was four decades ago." "It is not without a deep psychological significance that every group that has broken away from Catholic unity in modern times has disengaged itself from the incubus of these handicaps" of being cut off from active participation in our liturgy, which is "an abnormal situation." Statistically, Chicago and La Crosse are the most advanced dioceses in this respect, the latter having dialogue Mass in half of its parishes and all of its schools.

As no priest and educator should pass this book by without serious study, a new edition will, we hope, soon be necessary. May we make a few suggestions: we would like to see the excellent diagrams and statistics in an appendix, which would make it easier to read through the relevant text. One correction: the dialogue Mass did not come to the "Rhenish and Bavarian" sections of Germany during World War I. Only after Maria Laach "discovered" this method in 1921 did it gradually spread over Germany. By 1930 one could call it almost universal in the youth movement of that country.

May we also suggest that less emphasis be given to the recitation of prayers which somehow are foreign bodies where they now are, like the two invocations of the Trinity (Offertory and after Communion) and the second *Confiteor* at Communion, which is a definite anticlimax to all preceding prayers, and a mere repetition of what has been done at the beginning of Mass. It seems to have slipped into its present place from the rite of giving Communion outside Mass. (The law would be fulfilled if it and all that goes with it were recited in a low voice by altar servers and priest.) The *Lavabo* psalm and its concomitant rite is certainly a better "popular" prayer and psychologically more fitting than the repetitious "Accept, O Holy Trinity," with its breathless enumerations and cumulative language—quite apart from the fact that, after all the prayers directed to the Father in the person of Christ or through Him, this sudden invocation of God under the abstract theological expression seems to be quite out of place and un-"Roman." Let us hope that the next Missal reform will rid us of it. The quotation on page 56, footnote, is erroneous. "Eucharista," by Father Kramp, S.J., is a different book from *"Opfer Anschauungen."* Dr. W. Berning (p. 75) is not an archbishop but a bishop (my former ordinary). The late Archbishop of Prague was Cardinal Kaspar (p. 77). A few misprints: p. 47 ought to be Cecelia; p. 16, footnote, spelling is *gesagt* and *ein' feste Burg*. These corrections affect an infinitesimal part of this fine book. It is to be expected that it will inaugurate the most momentous change in modern American Church history: the return of the laity to a lived, sacramental Christianity, its promotion to full and adult incorporation into Christ's Mystical Body.

H. A. REINHOLD.

WAR

Assignment to Berlin. Harry W. Flannery. Knopf. $3.00.

AFTER the seemingly endless series of books by foreign correspondents—the publishers, if not the public, seem never to tire of them—I hesitate to recommend a volume like "Assignment to Berlin." And yet I honestly enjoyed the book more than any other of the sort. For one thing, Mr. Flannery is a modest man. This at once distinguishes him above the Gunthers, Shirers, *et al.* He tells us how his wife back home in the Middle West would listen to his broadcasts for Columbia and then wire him suggestions as to how he could improve his style and delivery—and he admits that her suggestions helped. That alone should be enough to give you an idea of how greatly this book differs from its kind.

Another thing about Mr. Flannery: he unostentatiously but frankly indicates that he is a Catholic. We learn about where he went to Mass of a Sunday, and we hear of his charmed surprise when he discovered a small chapel in Berlin where the priest celebrated facing the people. There is only one small confusion in the book which I hope is no reflection on the teaching of religion at Notre Dame (the author's alma mater). He seems to have confused Passion and Palm Sundays. But so minor a fault is more than compensated in his sensitiveness to the religious aspects of the life he observed—a sensitiveness which has characterized none of his book-writing colleagues.

Mr. Flannery succeeded William Shirer as head of Columbia's Berlin office. He had been educated and had worked principally in the Middle West, and he went abroad a mild isolationist. He says that he had no very strong convictions on this score, but that like most of his fellow citizens in the great valley of the Mississippi, he felt that America had no part in this war and might well mind her own business. A very few weeks in Berlin changed him into a violent interventionist. The insolence of the German official mind, the trickery and deceit and lying constantly practiced against him, the overwhelming sense of superiority on the part of so many of the Germans with whom he dealt forced him to the conclusion that here was a threat which very much affected the future of his own country. It was not many months before he began to consider as existing in effect the state of war which he saw to be inevitable in the future.

There is not much in "Assignment to Berlin" which is startling. The whole book is simply and straightforwardly written, and holds one's interest. It exudes a certain simple and direct honesty which one could wish were more frequent. Perhaps the most amusing section is that devoted to P. G. Wodehouse. We learn with some amazement that Mr. Wodehouse considers himself to be an American. He just somehow never got around to taking out naturalization papers. And the description of Mrs. Wodehouse's arrival from Occupied France with a lap dog and a stupendous array of luggage casts some light on her husband's peculiar activities. Evidently neither had the least notion of what it was all about. "Wodehouse was his own Bertie Wooster." Mr. Flannery's explanation of this extraordinary performance is the most convincing I have yet seen.

Another small detail which interested me in his book is the way in which he confirms the observations of Countess Waldeck in her "Athene Palace." Here is his own summary: "The nazis did not think things through. It was the same in the war. They reasoned only from one move to the next, and did not seem to foresee the inevitable consequences." A number of other observers have remarked upon this peculiar trait of a superbly efficient government. Perhaps in the long run this will prove its Achilles heel. A most unfortunate—even unpardonable—feature of "Assignment to Berlin" is its lack of an index, for it is a book one would like to be able to use as well as read.

HARRY LORIN BINSSE.

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The Inner Forum

Afternoon Mass

CONSIDERABLE interest has been aroused by the news that Archbishop Spellman of New York, the Military Vicar, has announced that by virtue of a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments Mass can now be celebrated up to 7:30 P.M. for men in the armed forces of the United States. This privilege is granted only for the benefit of those who cannot assist at morning Mass. A fast of four hours from solid foods and one hour from liquids is prescribed for both celebrant and communicants. It is reported that in many camps there is a widespread desire on the part of the men to sacrifice the afternoon recreation hour for the purpose of assisting at Mass and receiving Holy Communion.

For centuries afternoon and evening Mass were the tradition of the Church. Still preserved in the rubrics of the Roman Missal is the regulation as to the hours at which High Mass is to be celebrated. For Sundays and on feasts of a double or semi-double rank Mass was celebrated after the hour of Terce (9 A.M.); on simple feasts, after the hour of Sext (12 noon); in penitential seasons and on the vigils of important feasts Mass was celebrated after the hour of None (3 P.M.). According to Father Ellard's "Men at Work at Worship," "These times were observed strictly until in the Twelfth Century began the custom of divorcing the Hours of the Office from the hours of the clock, anticipating Terce, Sext and None into the forenoon, and thus anticipating also the noon and afternoon Masses."

"Saint Pius V (1566-72) saw fit to prohibit nocturnal Mass in the Roman Rite, whether High Mass or Low Mass, save on Christmas." In recent times, there have been a number of interesting occasions where afternoon or nocturnal Mass have been permitted. In 1935 Pius XI granted permission for Mass to be celebrated in the evening in Russia, so that Catholic workers could fulfill their Sunday obligation; they could receive Communion simply by fasting from 6 o'clock on. In 1935 a continuous triduum of Masses was celebrated at Lourdes—and concurrently at the Lourdes Shrine at Santiago, Chile, and in the archdiocese of Milan. And following the International Eucharistic Congress at Manila in 1936, the Holy See encouraged the formation of a League of Holy Mass to gather data on obstacles to Mass attendance the world over. By April, 1939, the League was represented in 153 dioceses in Europe, Brazil, Canada and India.

CONTRIBUTORS

Paul WOHL was born in Berlin and came to America in June, 1938, as correspondent for Czechoslovak newspapers. He has been in a number of official positions of an international sort, particularly as Director of the International Chamber of Commerce. He is at present writing for American periodicals, including *The Christian Science Monitor* and *This Week*.

Margaret Wade LABARGE is a native of the United States and educated at Radcliffe and Oxford. She is married to a Canadian and is now teaching history at Notre Dame College, Ottawa. She is Mason Wade's sister.

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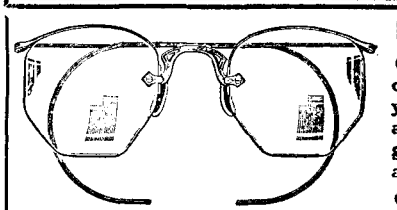
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